643 This instrument is so representative of command in the eyes of the Tuareg that they often refer to the aménokal and all the tribes which he holds under his command as "tobol."

184 643 Among the eastern Ioullimmiden (Kel Dinnik), the aménokal always had a standard placed in his tent, which was taken out exceptionally for war or the enthroning of a new aménokal. It was in blue-green and red silk. (1)

1. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik /Notes on the Society and State of the Dinnik Tuareg/," Bulletin de l'Institut Français. Afrique noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, p. 586.

Among the Ihăggaren, the tobol tribe, that is, the one from which the aménokal is always chosen, is the Kel Rela; however, the tobol has presumably changed hands over the centuries. The memory [173] of another chief-tribe, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, has remained, and thus the former Aménokal Aïtarel was accustomed to saying that the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi formed the back (of the political organization of the Ihăggaren), /while/ the Kel Rela, the Tăitok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet /formed/ the sides, but that the back was weakening to the profit of the sides. (2) This modification was caused by the total

2. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs de l'Ahaggar, p. 107.

extinction of the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

578 643 692 The aménokal's role is chiefly that of a war chief. In normal times he arbitrates the conflicts which set the tribes against one another, and he has the power of life or death, in principle. His authority is often contested by the Imochar of his own tribe, who try

578 643 692 to arrogate rights over vassals for themselves. There are internal disputes of the sort: "Who made you a count? And who made you king?"

643 It is particularly in the relations with neighboring or foreign tribes that the aménokal's role takes on a more national aspect, yet his decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables -- the arollan -- composed of the principal chiefs of fractions and nobles.

/157/ The aménokal lives like the other Tuareg, and there is [644] no ceremony surrounding his person. All comers present themselves at his tent with no more formality than that. There is no court or court etiquette.

534 643 Only the tobol, generally placed at the entrance to the tent, indicates the rank of the host.

This drum is in the shape of a hemisphere, hollowed out of a tree trunk and covered with a cowhide with the hair still on it. The hide is held by leather thongs with the hairy side up. It may be as much as 80 centimeters in diameter. Two leather handles on the sides are used to carry it. For gatherings, two men strike it alternately with a camelskin drumstick (imîtkar). Only the aménokal has the right to have it sounded, which he does only on the most important occasions. Upon his death, his brother or his caliph is entrusted with it until it can be given to his successor. The aménokal does not go [492] far without his drum, which is carried on a camel led by a trusted man; when he gives the order to beat the drum, another meharist /man mounted on a mehari, or fast dromedary/ approaches to take the other handle, and the two men march side by side, striking alternately. Any warrior who hears it is supposed to rally to the call and at the same time inform the people he meets. In case of war, [202] the beating tells whether they are dealing with foot soldiers or meharists, depending on whether there are one or two imîtkar.

[554] When the hide of the tobol is worn out, the most renowned warrior of the tribe is entrusted to replace it.

175 Moussa ag Amastan, Attici's cousin and great-grandson of Sidi Mohamed el Kheir by the latter's last daughter, Tar'aoussist, and by his grandmother Tiguent, was born about 1865 of a Kel Rela mother and an Ikerremoïen father. The latter, very acute in nature, had advised against the massacre of the Flatters mission, although it has been asserted that he participated in it.

Moussa was still young when his father died, and his uncle Amdor brought him up. Amdor lived with the Ifora from the Adrar, and it is there that Moussa made the acquaintance of a very famous Kounta marabout, who had established his religious center at Teleya and must have had great influence on Moussa.

Later he always lived north of the Adrar, which permitted him to make raids among the Ioullimmiden, the Ifora, the Idnan, the Kounta, and the Berabiches, who finally paid him dues to secure peace. But Moussa ag Amastan never raided the poor or the weak, making himself their protector instead.

[578] When the Taïtok were raided by the Kel Tadelé (from the Aïr) they accused Moussa of it; the animosity which still prevails between them dates from that day. Since his brother had been killed by the Ioullimmiden, he organized a raid composed of Kel Tadelé, /188/ Taïtok, and Ifora. En route, however, the Taïtok pillaged the herds of the Kel Tadelé. Moussa was deeply angered by this conduct and did not hesitate to attack the Taïtok to punish them and take back their loot. The Ihaggaren became indignant at this gesture and demanded that Moussa return the raided animals to the Taïtok. He refused and withdrew to the home of the Ioullimmiden amenokal, Firhoun, where he worked to re-establish peace between his hosts and the Ihaggaren. He did the same with the Kel Aïr, which made it possible for the Issekkemaren and the Imrad to go to the Sudan on business, and did much to establish his fame.

Leaving the Sudanese camps, he then approached the Ahaggar and followed events closely.

631 For more than a century the life of the Kel Rela has consisted of
643 a constant struggle against the Taïtok. The latter, belligerent and
578 jealous, dreamed only of seizing the aménokalat of the Ahaggar, and the history of the Tuareg of this country is nothing but a long succession of wars where the two fractions were alternately /191/ successful, but where the Kel Rela always kept the advantage thanks to their numerical superiority. The account of these events may be found in the book of Mr. Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 99 ff.

[162] In the 1838 census the Kel Rela included 312 persons, 38 of them men. In 1905, according to Benhazéra, they numbered 55 to 60 tents.

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela at the beginning included only two tribes, the Dag Râli and the Agouh-en-Tehlé, as well as a large part of the Issekkemâren. Since then, other fractions have come to seek their protection or to assimilate themselves. Such is the case of the Aït-Loaïen and the Relaiddin.

[651] The Imrad call the Kel Rela "the people who cost dearly," thereby making an allusion to the dues which they are obliged to pay them.

[643] The Dag Rali. -- The Dag Râli form the principal fraction of the Kel Rela tobol, on whom the aménokal of the Ahaggar has always relied to enforce his rights, and without whom he would be nothing and could do nothing.

With the Kel Ahnet, they originally formed the Imessiliten tribe, and they were said to be the descendants of Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, the ancestor of the Kel Rela. They sprang from four sub-fractions: the Ikechchemâden, attached to the Taïtok tobol, the Imessiliten, the Oulad Ir'dal, the Dag Mertemek.

At the present time they are subdivided into: 1) Kel Tahat, 2) Kel Tarahananet, 3) Kel Tamanrasset, 4) Kel Hirhafok, 5) Kel Arechchoum. To the Dag Râli must be added a few individuals, today completely assimilated with them; they are descendants of

631 427 [175] The founding of Tamanrasset is attributed to them; it is said to be the work of the chief of the Issenda (Issendaten) fraction, Ilachen by name. This creation goes back some sixty years, but the irrigable lands were the property of the Ajjer. In the last few years, the Imanrassatên, who were the true proprietors of the cultivable lands at Tamanrasset, came several times to claim the rental price which was one ass or a sheep per year according to the place. But this claim was only payable if the owners presented themselves; the year not claimed was gained by the renter.

[651] 631 They often found themselves in conflict with the aménokal, because they made difficulties in paying the tiousseé.

They are subdivided into Kel Aguelella or Kel Tărhaouhaout, into Kel Rapsa or Kel Ezarounfat, and into Issendaten or Kel Tăhifet.

631 173 [192] The Aït Loaien. -- The Aït Loaien get their name from the verb élouai, which means "to attach camels in Indian file." (1)

1. According to Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, p. 148.

Through their ancestor Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, they are said to be of the same origin as the Dăg Râli and the Kel Ăhnet. At the time of the division of the Imrad, it is said they were bestowed half upon the Inemba and half upon the Tégéhé Mellet. They are subdivided into Irayen (today extinct), Kel Torha or Dăg Houa, and Aït Loaien proper.

631 [651] The Aït Loaien pay the tioussé to the family of the Téjéhé-n-ăgg-Ali, also called Kel Ahamellen (Kel Rela), and the Dăg Houa group pays it to the Tégéhé Mellet.

[578] Formerly allied to the Imekkérressen of the Ajjer group by numerous marriages, they separated from them following disputes and the murder of one of them, the Tuareg Reskou /196/ ag Yahia, famous in all the Ahaggar. Since then, the Imekkérressen have settled in the Ajjer.

631 /211/ Originally from Es Souq in the Ădrar des Ifôras, they are mixed with the Ahl Azzi from In-Salah.

Without being Imrad of the Tăitok, properly speaking, they may be considered satellites of this tobol.

Tobol of the Tégéhé-Mellet

173 631 The Tégéhé-Mellet make up the third and least important of the three Ahaggar tobol.

According to oral tradition, they are the descendants of Ti-n-Hînân through her daughter Tahenkat. More recently they are said to be descended from the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi. But according to another tradition they are of Chaamba origin, from the Oulad Messaoud tribe. More exactly, we are led to believe that some Oulad Messaoud men came to settle among them and founded families; for some, this would make their pure Imochar origin questionable. On the other hand, they married Kel-I-n-Toûnîn women, while Tégéhé Mellet women married Issekkemâren.

They obtained their independence at the same time as the Tăitok while Sidi Mohâmed was amênokal, and were assigned a certain number of vassal tribes. Since then, however, they have played only a very unobtrusive part in the history of the Ahaggar, and the Tégéhé Mellet are on the way to disappearing.

631 ● 578 According to Duveyrier, they had the reputation of bringing a conciliatory spirit into the often strained relations between the Ihăggaren and the Ăjjer Tuareg. The geographical position that they occupied between the two opposing groups quite naturally drafted them for the role.

619 648 They were formerly a free tobol, and only with the French occupation were they placed under the guardianship of Moussa ag Ămastân.

Ser'ir ag Bedda, their amrar, protested for a long time and never stopped claiming his independence. In connection with this state of mind, many Tégéhé Mellet rebelled and left with the

622 ship, and so an undesirable heir-apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct heir who is considered acceptable (Butaye, 1957).

614 The position of an Ahaggar Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans will sometimes break away from one tribe in times of adversity and attach themselves to another and more powerful tribe that is better able to protect them. In the old days vassal clans were sometimes swapped back and forth between noble clans, and so had their tribal allegiance changed for them more or less arbitrarily. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, has been reduced from noble to vassal status, in this case by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. Thus the distribution of the various clans within the tribal framework of the confederation tends to change gradually
● [578] over the years, while internal tribal crises and intertribal warfare naturally accelerate the process.

[582] Marriage is usually although not always within the clan but outside the first degree of
614 cousinship and outside the camp community
611 or fraction. A child of Tuareg parents inherits rank and privileges through the mother, re-
428 gardless of whether she is a member of the father's clan or not; but the child is known as "Such-and-such, child of So-and-so," the parent thus referred to being the father, and inheritance of property follows Moslem law (*see* the Koran, iv, 12 and 175) which provides that a male heir shall receive twice as much as a female heir who is related to the deceased in the same degree. Today a Targui, asked to give his ancestry, will recite the list of male forebears in his father's line, although Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 321) tells us that in the 14th century descent was counted through the mother's brother, and a man's heirs were his sister's children rather than his own. Bates (1914, p. 112), citing Duveyrier (1864, p. 397), says that property acquired by force of arms used to be inherited by "the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased."

591 A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year and then usually move over to a camp of the husband's people, but they sometimes settle permanently among the clansfolk of the bride if she and her

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 239]
[Pp. 236-238 not processed]

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Fig. 24. Tuareg warriors of the Ahaggar in single combat. (Photograph by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

and gaiety, always on condition that the conversation does not take place in the presence of relatives to whom the Tuareg who is addressed owes respect.

The Tuareg woman intervenes effectively in quarrels between the men of her family and, in order to please her, reconciliation takes place. Thus it was thanks to Rakhma, sister of Moussa ag Amastane, that the latter became reconciled with his brother-in-law, Anaba ag Amellal.

In short, one may say that nothing is ever done or said among the Tuareg in which the influence of the woman is not found, always and everywhere, and this will be seen as the reading of this article continues. /14/

Dautheville
Tuareg Group in the Oued Ti-n-amadal Settafen (Tifedest).

Chapter VI

Proposal of Marriage

Proposal of marriage, "ibadrahen" ⵉⴱⴰⴷⵔⴰⵀⴻⵏ, is governed by a definite rule of procedure.

The suitor for a woman's hand sends marabouts, if there are any, to her parents, or tolbas, or, lacking these, influential people who state his request.

The proposal must be known to all the relatives of the woman without exception; they must all be notified and

S: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
M525 Tuareg M525
Ahaggar
Air

paratively rich vegetation of Air contains species found also in Ahaggar, but Ahaggar has Mediterranean plants including several saline species which do not thrive in Air, where there are tropical or Sudanese species unknown to Ahaggar.

Botanically Air is very closely connected with the Sudan, and the mountain massif is within the Sudanese zone of summer rain. It is true that rain at the northern outskirts of Air occasionally falls in winter and may then give rise to scattered pasture of annual plants, but these rains are of no real importance. The important rainfalls of Air occur in the period June–September, and particularly in July and August. As may be gathered from the description of botanical conditions, Air has a much bigger annual precipitation than has Ahaggar. Thus the village of Iferouan in Northern Air has 74 mm, while Agadez at the southern slopes of the massif has 179 mm. Precipitation will of course vary from one year to the other, but rain will always fall sufficiently for the spring of annual plants. This is the reason for a type of stock-breeding different from that of Ahaggar. In Air the Tuareg are richer in camels, they do not possess so many goats but are very rich in sheep, and most of them have zebus.

The climatic and botanical differences of Air and Ahaggar can be seen more directly from the division of the year into seasons (fig. 2). Air has a summer and a winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* and *farat*. These two words as seasonal terms express the fact that rain and annual pastures in Air are recurrent events, as the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants", and the word *farat* refers to "dry, annual plants". Both words are known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg but are by them not applied as seasonal terms, for in their country rain will not occur every year and may fall at most seasons.

Conditions for stock-breeding are very much better in Air than in Ahaggar, but the latter country has a few superior qualities:– 1) Part of the year Ahaggar has a comparatively cool climate which is said to have a positive influence on the lactation of domestic animals. 2) In Ahaggar all over the country there are saline pasturrs which play an important part in stock-breeding – not because these plants are very nourishing but the animals do not thrive without salt. In Air saline plants are very rare and found mainly to the south and south-west of the massif where water and soil also contain salt. Many pastoralists will migrate to these regions shortly after the rains, while people who do not undertake such migrations feed their domestic animals with salt. Camels and cows have a particular need for fodder with a salt content. 3) Ahaggar has richer wells and a greater number of permanent ponds than Air. This may seem rather peculiar as precipitation is much bigger in the south than in the north. In Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer some ponds may contain fish apparently unknown in Air. In the latter country there are a great many ponds or even small lakes during the rains but they dry out very quickly when rainfall ceases. Water in Air most of the year is drawn from wells many of which go dry during the hot season; this will frequently lead to quarrels between nomads.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

The Ayr Tuareg say that the blacksmiths do not have *ténet* words for everything, but always use Tuareg words for certain objects and animals. It is in fact possible that the *ténet* language has been created by the blacksmiths to be used as a secret language. This explanation agrees excellently with the social position of blacksmiths. They make weapons, ornaments, household implements, and the like for the Tuareg. The Tuareg therefore consider them indispensable, and admire them for their skill. But this is only one aspect of the Tuareg attitude towards blacksmiths who are also looked down upon because of their obscure origin and their predominantly negroid appearance. Furthermore, blacksmiths are frequently wearisome to the Tuareg. They claim gifts from the Tuareg on every possible occasion, and if they are given nothing when they ask it is believed that they can do severe harm to the persons from whom a gift is claimed. For the blacksmiths possess a mystic power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama* or *tezma*. This mystic power has nothing to do with black magic. It comes into action automatically without any physical performance by the blacksmith if his demand is ignored. The *ettama* power is dangerous to children and to animals but not so much to adults. Children frequently fall ill with a swollen belly, while the effect on domestic animals is more severe and often causes their death. Though blacksmiths do not perform any physical act to put their mystic power into operation, they are nevertheless held responsible for damage ascribed to it by the Tuareg. This can be illustrated by the following example from Southern Ayr: — An Ayr Tuareg was on his way from Damergu to Ayr with a caravan of camels loaded with millet. One evening at dusk, when he was just about to lead his camels out for grazing at night, a blacksmith came to him to ask for a gift of millet. The Tuareg said that the blacksmith had better wait until next morning as it was already getting dark. The blacksmith went away, and shortly after his departure one of the Tuareg's camels fell ill and died. The Tuareg was convinced that the death of his camel was due to the blacksmith's *ettama* power, and therefore wanted revenge. He mounted a camel, pursued the blacksmith and killed him with an axe. This event happened only a few years ago. It illustrates how firmly many Tuareg believe in the evil *ettama* power of blacksmiths. In fact many Tuareg openly declare that they dislike and fear all blacksmiths. They do not like to associate with them except on festive occasions when blacksmiths frequently act as singers and musicians. The Tuareg never intermarry with people of the blacksmith caste, and even people of other negroid castes are reluctant to intermarry with blacksmiths. In Ahaggar a marriage may be contracted between blacksmiths and *Harratin*, and in Ayr there are said to be a few marriages between blacksmiths and people of other negroid classes or castes. But on the whole the caste of blacksmiths (*Inedan*) can be characterized as endogamous. This is quite natural in view of the fact that blacksmiths possess the evil mystic power (*ettama*, or *tezma*), which I have described in more detail elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1961, pp. 134 f., 146).

Between fair-skinned, true Tuareg and other black-skinned castes but that of the blacksmiths, marriages are contracted now and then, and it seems as if mixed marriages of this type are becoming more and more numerous. In Ahaggar there are some marriages between Tuareg and women belonging to the castes of slaves (*Iklan*) or sedentary agriculturists (*Harratin*, or *Izeggagen*) and there are even marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg women and negroid men though such marriages are less frequent. Mixed marriages are even more frequent in Ayr. The offspring of such unions are known in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer as *Ihurelliten* (*Abupelli*). This word is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

As an illustration of camel terms given to animals in very special situations, I give the two following examples:— (1) A she-camel when driven out for grazing while its calf is tethered in the camp is known as *tamantak* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, as *tenteg* to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr; (2) A pack-camel when walking in a caravan is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *amekkalu*, while the corresponding term in Ayr seems to be *alaway*.

For the size of herds the Ahaggar Tuareg have the following terms:— *tazegga* (a small herd of 20-40 camels and/or she-camels), *ahammal* (from very few animals up to about one hundred, the herd consisting mainly of male camels), *adyaw* (a very large herd comprising about one hundred animals at least, regardless of their sex). As far as my investigations go these terms are not known among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. They refer to a small number of camels as *imnas* (10 to 15 animals comprising male and/or female camels), while a bigger herd is known as *tollemin* (comprising male and/or female camels).

All the above-mentioned camel terms are with very few exceptions used exclusively for camels and not for other animals. Extensive vocabularies are found also for other domestic animals and for many aspects of stock-breeding, but the camel vocabulary is extremely large by comparison. This seems understandable as camels have a many-sided use to the Tuareg, and there can be no doubt that camel-terms like goat-terms are primarily a linguistic technique of practical value – a technique which enables the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. But this is evidently not the sole reason why the camel vocabulary is so extensive that a detailed description of all terms would necessitate an independant book on this subject. For the camel vocabulary is extremely large not only because of its practical value, but also because Tuareg interest in camels is not solely confined to their practical uses. This is intimated, I believe, by some of the peculiar terms mentioned and above all by the very many synonyms.

Camels, in contrast to most domestic animals, have social functions among the Tuareg. It is true that bride-wealth in vassal tribes of the Northern Tuareg may be paid in goats (25-30 animals), but this is the case mainly among the *Kel Ajjer* while most Ahaggar vassals will claim that bride-wealth should be paid in camels. The true vassals of Ahaggar give one to three camels for a wife, the payment being dependent upon the bride's tribe – in most tribes it is the custom to give only one camel, while two tribes will claim two and three camels respectively for their women. Among the Ayr vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group bride-wealth may be paid in cash, though the bride-wealth in these tribes is generally one camel as among most northern vassals. But the size of bride-wealth among the Ayr Tuareg is frequently discussed by representatives of the families, and it depends much upon the age, quality, and wealth of the bride. For very desired girls the payment may rise to two or three camels while for others the payment is only "two camel feet", that is a "half share in a camel"; it is said that even "one foot" is sometimes accepted as bride-wealth. This system of giving shares in camels may give rise to trouble between the persons who share the same animal. Among noble Tuareg, both in the north and in Ayr, bride-wealth can be paid only in camels. Among noble tribes of the Northern Tuareg the bride-wealth to be paid is fixed at seven camels, while among the few noble Tuareg now left in the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group the price, it is said, varies between ten and twenty camels. Camels given for bride-wealth are generally *illusan* (sing. *alegges*) (fem. *tillusin*, sing. *taleggest*),

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 98. A slave watering goats by means of the leather bucket called *aǧa*. Water is drawn from a well and poured out into a hole dug in the clayey ground. The goat standing to the left is sheared – a token of the summer season. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

conditions, and herdsmen, who live with camelherds far away from camps and wells subsisting on camel's milk, do not consider water necessary. Should domestic animals have eaten salt or salty plants they are very eager for water even in winter. When I lived in Ahaggar with my camels during the winter 1954/55 they had rightly to be watered every ten days, but in regions where they fed mainly on saliferous plants they had to be watered more frequently. However, domestic animals must not be watered too often as this would make them slow and emaciated, and a camel must not be worked too hard the day after it has been watered.

Tuareg camps are always found around wells, pools, or other types of water places for which there is a large vocabulary. But the Tuareg never camp too close to water places where there is little pasture, many foreigners and consequently little peace. The distance from camp to water place varies, but is very frequently 1–3 kilometres. During the rainy season (*akasa*) water is very aundant all over Ayr, but outside this period conditions of water supply for human beings and livestock are more favourable in the north than in Ayr, where water most of the year must be drawn from wells. To raise water the Tuareg use a leather bucket known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aǧa* (Fig. 97–98). The water drawn for the animals is poured out into a hole dug in clayey soil, or into a hole covered with a piece of skin or leather known in Ahaggar as *tafarawt*. This skin is nowadays frequently substituted by canvas (cf. Fig. 99). Where water is scarce and must be drawn from narrow wells, as in Ayr during the summer season, the watering of flocks and herds gives rise to frequent quarrels between pastoralists. For though the right to the use of wells is free to all there are many disputes and fights frequently

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

start around wells. It may happen, for instance, that two men who draw water from the same well get the ropes of their leather buckets entangled. They will then start to quarrel and the result may be a fight with swords.

I conclude this chapter with a brief description of the signals used by the Tuareg for their domestic animals. As these animals do not have the same needs for food and water and are frequently mixed with each other in camps and around wells, it is only natural that the Tuareg have different signals to call, stop, or drive away their various types of domestic animals. I have noted these signals among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr:—

Signals to call domestic animals:—

goats	*ay, ay*	
sheep	a rolling sound	the three rolling sounds are somewhat different though resembling each other
cows	a rolling sound	
camels	a rolling sound	
donkeys	*ahay, ahay*	

Signals to stop animals:—

goats	*aw*
sheep, cows, camels . . .	*ôr*
donkeys	*as*

Signals to drive away animals:—

goats	*ây*	pronounced emphatically
sheep, cows, camels . . .	*hey*	
donkeys	*aheyt*	

Fig. 99. Tuareg drawing water for camels which drink from a piece of canvas (*tafarawt*) placed over a hollow in the ground. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

614 591 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 611 [428] [565] Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one particular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Rali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Rali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Tarhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 565 631 423 [643] Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339).

[162] [578] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 613 621 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names – generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

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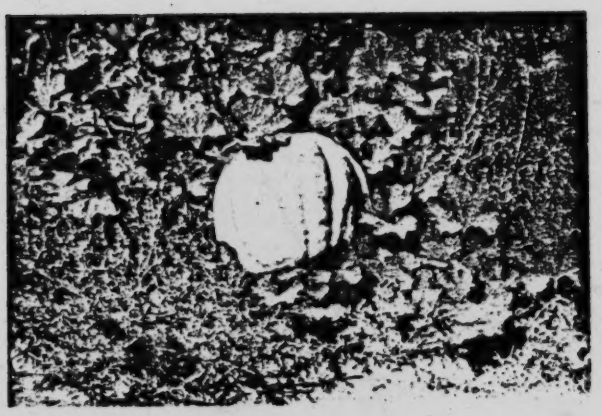

Fig. 141. The large gourd known as *kabaya* (*Cucurbita maxima*) growing close to the thorny fence (*afarag*) which term is also generally used to designate a garden. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

466 625 423 241 [171] [578] Tuareg garden owners have other obligations besides those listed under these three items, but these obligations vary with the systems of contract of which there are three. One system is known as *khamast* according to which the agriculturists gets only one fifth of the crops. This system is widely found in North Africa but has disappeared in Ahaggar some years ago. It is said that it was abolished by the *Amenukal* because it very frequently gave rise to disputes between Tuareg garden owners and their cultivators. It is now replaced by two other systems, the *tilt* system allowing one third of the crops to the cultivator, and the *aril* system according to which crops are divided equally between the owner and the cultivator. This last system is that almost exclusively used in Ahaggar nowadays.

To revert to Tuareg obligations towards their cultivators, these obligations, in addition to those mentioned above, are as follows:—

(4) To hand over an amount of seed-corn (*tefest*) of wheat and barley according to the size of the garden plot and the system of contract. With a *khamast* agreement the Tuareg garden owner gives all seed-corn. With a *tilt* agreement half of the seed-corn is supplied by the owner, the other half by the cultivator who is then also allowed to cultivate a private garden. With an *aril* agreement half of the seed-corn is given by the garden owner, the other half by the cultivator who does not possess a private garden unless he is headman of a *foggara* (p. 196).

(5) To give an amount of food to the agriculturist during the cultivation period of six months. This payment is known as *tenafok*, and is fixed at 75 kilos of millet, barley, or dates when cultivation is done according to the *aril* system, while 150 kilos are given for cultivation according to agreements of the two systems *tilt* and *khamast*.

[434] The net profit to an agriculturist who cultivates for a Tuareg garden owner is lower than that gained by an agriculturist cultivating exclusively for his own private use. This will be seen more clearly from the calculations below where a garden with an annual yield of 700 kilos wheat and barley is considered:—

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added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was also fighting within these groups at intervals.

The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastoralists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times, but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Hammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays. They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

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considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Rali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916-17, the drum-group of the *Kel Rela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Rela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amṛar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Rela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adrar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Tédalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

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been told about two such marriages which seem to have been contracted in fairly recent times. I think that the main reason why the noble Tuareg do not marry with their vassals is that such marriages would tend to break down the structure of the political system, as the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many in-laws among vassals to whom the conduct would be institutional joking or avoidance. For in addition to true relatives by marriage there are numerous classificatory ones. This will become clear from the description of the rules of behaviour valid for relatives by marriage.

In spite of the application of the rules of joking relationship on a political level, troubles within the drum-group were far from unknown. And it is remarkable that even between the related tribes of *Irawatten* and *Kel Azel* there might be very severe quarrels. There was a latent opposition between them which might occasionally lead to fighting between noble Tuareg of the two groups. The existence within the drum-group of another noble tribe, the *Kel Azel*, with a certain number of vassals was always a danger to the position of the drum-chief as a ruler of the whole *Kel Ferwan* group. And noble Tuareg of the *Irawatten* tribe say that in the past it even happened that the drum-chief punished the *Kel Azel* very severely, not only taking all their livestock, but also burning down their camps. The drum-chief was able to maintain his power over the whole *Kel Ferwan* group because most vassal tribes were placed directly under his command, and because these tribes camped around Agadez which was dominated by him.

The drum-chief also had trouble with another tribe of his group, the *Kel Akerra*. This tribe is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the *Ibararojiten* tribe. In the past the drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group imposed vassalage upon the *Kel Akerra*, who, however, refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the *Kel Akerra* to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the *Kel Akerra* tribe became small and insignificant. It is said that the tribes of *Imezzureg* and *Isakaranan*, who like the *Kel Akerra* are noble by origin, also did not give their bride-wealth to the drum-chief in the past. But the three tribes were vassals in the sense that they had to give part of their war-booty to the drum-chief and could not carry out raids on their own.

A certain discord reigned within the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the drum-chief had the support of most tribes of vassals, who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups, but also quell internal insurrections. However, the three northern tribes of *Kel Tédalé* were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from the rest of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes that the drum-chief could not maintain his power over them. They were only nominally part of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the *Kel Tédalé* paid no tribute to other chiefs (Joubert 1939, p. 246), though it is said in Ahaggar that in the past they paid an annual tribute to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. But the *Kel Tédalé* were politically independent of other groups in Ayr, which is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim the *Kel Tédalé* to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104; Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three tribes the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg I met all emphasized

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1926, p. 100 ff.), and they have been studied later within the same area by other anthropologists (cf. Schlesier 1956, p. 54 ff.). It is my impression that they are comparatively rare among the Tuareg because their social systems have mechanisms which serve to prevent conflicts: The system of cross-cousin marriage in connection with rules of joking, avoidance, and those which permit a man to take domestic animals not only from his father but also from his mother's brothers would seem to lessen conflicts which are latent in other matrilineal systems.

Functional studies would seem to constitute an important means to explain the historical development of social organization, but the functional method alone cannot help us, for it is evident that diffusion also plays a considerable part in the change of social systems as has been shown in this study of the Tuareg. Anthropology is not science in the ordinary sense of the word. People do not behave according to such fixed rules as those we call "natural laws". They have rules but these are not always followed very strictly, and I have shown above that social rules can change owing to diffusion and the adoption of new social traits. So-called primitive peoples do not always live in the functional world of modern anthropology, but they always live in a world of change and tradition. It is possible that the Northern Tuareg for centuries have practised marriages with a maternal cousin, though this type of marriage disagrees with their social system which favours cross-cousin marriage. As to the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg, we know that some of them adopted patrilineal succession owing to contact with the Arabs more than two hundred years ago. Nevertheless, these Tuareg have not adopted the entire social system of the Arabs, and even to-day there are matrilineal traits among them.

Tuareg culture cannot be understood by a mere functional analysis, for its creation is due to diffusion of traits from other cultures, and this seems to hold for all cultural aspects, including political systems and social organization. Consequently, I have tried to understand cultural development in the light of the methods of both functional and historical anthropology.

I hope that this study on Tuareg culture may be considered a contribution towards a more realistic historical method, and trust that my work may be of some value to others who take up the great problems connected with the history of North African culture. It may well be that some of the theories I have advanced or intimated will not survive when our knowledge of the Tuareg and North African cultures is increased, but I believe that a study of cultural development within limited areas will enable a far more realistic and detailed picture of cultural history to be created than has so far been the case.